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ABSTRACT

The contents of this concept paper examining the roll of the mass media in the socialization of minority groups in America include an examination of the major literature dealing with the socialization of minority groups, a discussion of subculture orientation to minority socialization, consideration of the theories of ethnocentrism and their relationships to the socialization process; examination of the mass media literature related to minority group socialization, and a discussion and outline of needed research for building toward a theory of the media's role in minority socialization. The theoretic schemes presented here help to visualize the process of changing the thinking structures of a culture and provide a solution to the problem of extreme ethnocentrism. (RB)

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MASS MEDIA AND MINORITY SOCIALIZATION:

CONCEPTUALIZING THE PROCESS

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MASS MEDIA AND MINORITY SOCIALIZATION: CONCEPTUALIZING THE PROCESS

Although the role of the mass media in the socialization of American youth has been receiving increasing research attention, most of that research has concentrated on samples of the general population. It is obvious that the study of minority group relations is an important area of research in terms of the potential for improving intergroup relations and reducing general prejudice and bigotry.

Since very little research has been done relative to socialization effects of the media in this area, this is an ideal point in time to examine the theoretic approaches to the problem and attempt to conceptualize a schema around which future research might be organized. To fully develop that schema will require an extended dialogue among the scholars interested in this problem area. However, the potential utility of their resulting conception could strengthen the research to follow and more rapidly advance their end goals. The purpose of this paper is to attempt a beginning conception from which to encourage this dialogue. The paper will deal with the following:

1. Some basic concepts of importance -- a subcultural orientation to minority groups.
2. A brief summary of some theoretic approaches to the problem of ethnocentrism.
3. A summary of some propositions related to socialization processes within ethnic groups.
4. A summary of some propositions about stereotypes and ethnocentrism as potential hypotheses for future media research.
5. A suggested theoretic scheme for conceptualizing the general relationship of culture, ethnocentrism, and the media.
6. A recommended theory and research approach to the problem of ethnocentrism and the potential socialization role of the media.

Important Concepts: A subcultural orientation to minority groups

The potential problems in defining the concepts of "minority group" and "ethnic group" have been discussed in detail by Leckenby (in this session). The related concept of "culture" provides an important commonality for these concepts. In this paper culture is taken to mean:

CULTURE: That complex whole consisting of the knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits embodied in more or less stereotyped patterns of learned cognitions and behaviors of a given social system. A particular cultural pattern is transferred from one generation to another through various forms of socialization and communication.

This conception of culture combines Barnouw's definition with that of Taylor (as discussed in Barnouw, 1973).

Although it is granted that in terms of any socio-political-economic ethnic culture there are superordinate, neutral, and subordinate minorities, the emphasis here is on the subordinate ethnic minority. The above concept of culture ties in as follows:

MINORITY GROUP: A group which is less than majority size in a given cultural system and which is usually regarded as having an inferior, subordinate position in that culture. The minority group's subordinate social status carries with it a relative lack of social power.

ETHNIC GROUP: A group possessing a common cultural system with a high degree of cultural homogeniety. Ethnic groups may have either majority or minority status in a given social system. If in the minority, the ethnic group should be conceived of as a subculture with cultural patterns which differentiate it from the majority culture.

Given the above definitions, the study of minority group relations seems most fruitfully couched in terms of ethnic group relations emphasizing the subcultural distinctions that characterize the groups in question. The phrase "subcultural distinctions" is very important here because these distinctions provide the visibility or "cues" that serve to establish stereotypes on the one hand, and to elicit discriminatory or prejudicial behaviors on the other.

Similarily, these cultural distinctions become the focus of inquiry into culture transfer from one generation to the next by way of socialization and communication processes.

A final note on the distinctions between ingroup vs. outgroup. One's own ethnic group tends to become the ingroup and other subcultures become the outgroups. The ingroup then serves as a reference for the establishing of significant norms and values.

Overall, then, the ethnic culture becomes the pervasive concept. Minority ethnic groups are viewed as subcultures within the larger ethnic culture. As such, an individual can define himself in or out of various cultural or subcultrual groupings and that classification will directly affect his ingroup-outgroup perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. A strong orientation to the ethnic group, to the extent that it becomes the center of one's orientation to the world around him, has been termed "ethnocentrism." The concept of ethnocentrism has been extensively dealt with by Levine and Campbell (1972) and their work provides an orientation to the problem of theory building that will be dealt with in detail in the next section. Their specific definition of ethnocentrism is, "...an attitude or outlook in which values derived from one's own cultural background are applied to other cultural aspects where different values are operative." (p.1)

Theoretic Approaches to the Study of Ethnocentrism

In terms of scientific outcomes, the assumptions made going into the process can have significant effects. Thus, as we approach the study of intergroup and intragroup relations and the role of the mass media, the variety of theoretic approaches and their differing assumptions should be recognized.

One of the first basic questions involves one's view of the basic nature of man. The differing approaches here are detailed by Overton and Reese (1973) and will only be summarized here. As well, an extended discussion of these

differences as related to socialization effects of the media may be found in Gordon (1974). Overall, the conceptions of the nature of man can be distilled to two basic models: Mechanistic and Organismic -- the psychoanalytic approach being subsumed within the organismic model. The assumptions of these models are:

ORGANISMIC	MECHANISTIC
-- Internal orientation.	-- External orientation.
-- Individual goes through stages which affect cognitive abilities	-- Basic cognitive mechanism remains the same. Changes occur by adding or modifying repertoires.
-- Closed model in that there is a set number of stages.	-- Open model in that there is theoretically unlimited growth through modification of repertoires.
-- Development is discontinuous as blocked out by each stage, continuous in that stages progress sequentially.	-- Assumes continuity of development, no necessity for stages.
-- Emphasizes structure-function in that cognitive repertoires are produced to serve the goals or functions of the organism	-- Emphasizes antecedent-consequent approach where cause-effect or stimulus-response relations condition repertoires.
-- Holistic in that the organism is represented as an organized totality.	-- Stresses elementarism in that the organism is represented as a collection of elements. Any behavior or skill can be reduced to simpler or more elementary forms (reductionalism).
-- Organized complexity of organism interacting with environment produces change.	-- Linear causality in that causes of change are unidirectional, from environment to organism.

The above assumptions will have wide ranging effects on the selection of variables to be studied, what problems are considered to be meaningful, the actual methodologies employed and the interpretation of data collected. As such, the decision to work within a particular model should not be taken lightly.

Specific Theories of Ethnocentrism

Just as the foregoing basic model of man affects the research process, the assumptions underlying the specific theoretic approach taken within a given model will further amplify these differences. Since the approach to minority groups in this paper stresses their ethnic culture or subculture, the theories of ethnocentrism as detailed by Levine and Campbell (1972) are particularily relevant and are summarized below. It should be noted that these are not theories in the true sense of the word but are more theoretic rationales or general frameworks.

SOCIETAL THEORIES

Realistic Group Conflict Theory. This approach assumes that group conflicts are rational in the sense that groups do have incompatable goals and are in competition for scarce resources. The proponents of the approach see no need to attribute group conflict to displacement of intra-group or intra-individual problems. In general, this approach assumes that real competition is seen as a threat to the group and as such produces ingroup solidarity and increases ethnocentrism while promoting outgroup hostility.

Social-Structural Theories of Conflict. These theories are very similar to the above except for having a special structural premise, "...that most individuals in most societies regard themselves as members of more than one ingroup, and that the ordering of their loyalties to the several ingroups of which they are members has important consequences for the solidarity of the total ethnic group, particularly where the ethnic group is politically uncentralized. Where the ethnic or linguistic group is politically centralized, the structuring of subgroup loyalties among its members can be viewed as contributing to or hindering the national solidarity....but in the uncentralized, acephalous, segmentary, or multicentric systems common among folk societies, the structure of group loyalties within the ethnic community may be critical in determining something as fundamental as the boundries across which military conflict occures and within which peace is maintained." (p.43)

Reference Group Theory. This theory posits that an individual will organize his values, attitudes, and behaviors around the models provided by his ingroups. The complexities of reference group relationships must be recognized before this theory is applied in any strict sense. Particularly, the evidence suggests that conflicts may exist among the many groups to which an individual belongs. Thus, in the right circumstances, an individual might take outgroup allies against ingroup enemies, use an outgroup as a positive model, or adopt the norms or values of an outgroup.

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Evolutionary Theories. These theories are also a subset of realistic-group-conflict theory with special emphasis on the source and consequence of the conflict. Here, the source is mainly environmental adaptation for survival and the consequence is development of more efficient adaptive forms. The four major subclasses of this approach view ethnocentric conflict (war) and the evolution of a given culture or society as follows:

> Survival-of-the-Warlike: Evolution from primative culture to industrial occurred mainly through war (ethnocentric conflict). Those cultures that were most successful in warfare survived.
>
> Neo-evolutionists: Evolution from primative to industrial culture occurred through technological, economic, and organizational stages of development (not necessarily involving war). The emphasis is on "...the developmental prerequisites for different predatory goals and types of warfare." (p.73)
>
> Cultural Ecologists: Hold that particular types of warfare or conflict are adaptive for societies in particular ecological situations. For example, fighting may be a means to balance or redistribute people and land resources.
>
> Ethologists and Primatologists: Emphasize the biological basis of human aggression and conflict and compare it to the nonhuman and human aggression and social organization.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

Frustration-Aggression-Displacement Theory. This formulation is organismic in that it originated from psychoanalytic concepts and views the individual as an active participant in the individual-environment interaction. Basically, the ethnic group is viewed as displacing its frustrations through aggression against outgroups. Like the individual, the group has goals, desires, and needs, and when these are not met frustration is experienced which results in aggression. The aggression is usually directed toward the source of the frustration but this may be vague and undefined (and ingroup produced), which results in the displacement onto outgroups. The more frustration, the greater the ethnocentrism (holding ingroup peace and complexity constant).

Group Narcissism. A psychoanalytic conception which views ethnocentrism as a form of narcissism (self love) at the group level. The rationale here holds that ethnocentrism and group identification will be strongest in groups that lack other reasons for individual self gratification (e.g. economic wealth, social status, etc.). Thus, the more the culture represses individual self gratification, the greater the group ethnocentrism.

Self Esteem. Another psychoanalytically based concept which has been adopted for clinical use and assumes that low self-esteem will affect an individual's mental health, perceptions , and interactions with others. As well, this same individual (low self-concept) will distort the information he takes in or will project his own unacceptable characteristics onto others in order to maintain a minimum level of functioning. When applied to the group,

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low self-esteem is operationalized in terms of intragroup conflict. Those groups with high degrees of intragroup conflict will have lower self-esteem. Groups with low self-esteem will show less ethnocentric solidarity and yet stronger outgroup hostility. As compared to a group with less internal conflict, this group will project their own internal conflict onto the outgroups and see them (inaccurately) as more hostile.

Projection. Another psychoanalytic model which involves the attribution to others of unacceptable impulses within one's self. As applied to the group, stereotypes of outgroups would correspond to motives that are being inhibited at the ingroup level. Another proposition derived from this conception states that "The more a group inhibits aggression at the ingroup level, the more it will perceive outgroups as aggressive." (p. 146)

Authoritarian Personality. A mix of the above socio-psychological theories, this approach builds on the research related to authoritarianism and emphasizes political attitudes. Within this approach, an individual who is high in ethnocentrism would reflect more rigid sociopolitical attitudes, more rigid categorical thinking structures, more strict child rearing practices and more hierarchical family structures.

Compensatory Masculinity. Proposes that aggression and crime occur mainly among men and that this behavior stems from the male's need to assert his masculine identity for fear that he may be labeled femine. This need has a psychoanalytic base in the early mother-child relationship and the child's subsequent development of his sex-role identity. In the early stages a strong mother-child attachment is likely. Later, as he realizes that he is expected to act in a masculine way his behavior tends toward compulsive masculinity as a defense against femine identification. Relative to ethnocentric conflict, the group members provoke conflict as a way to demonstrate and assert their masculinity.

Cognitive Congruity Theories. Applies the concepts of balance, congruity, and dissonance to intergroup relations. The degree of specificity of the consistency principles allows for the detailing of relationships. An example of a balance proposition would be, "An enemy of an ally will be an enemy." From this approach coalitions and balances of power can be examined. A proposition derived from congruity theory is, "The direction and polarization of evaluation of outgroup X will be equal to the evaluation of all the groups with which X is associated." Dissonance theory produces propositions like, "The more suffering, cost, and effort that members have endured in association with their group membership, the more loyal and ingroup-esteeming they will be."

Transfer and Reinforcement Theory. This approach is the most behavioristic and contends that behaviors acquired and reinforced in familiar contexts can be extended to novel or remote contexts: "...the extension of behavioral dispositions from familiar contexts in which they were acquired and are regularly performed to novel or remote contexts, through mechanisms such as transference, habit transfer, and stimulus generalization. In the application of these theories to ethnocentrism, the central notion is that the ethnocentric dispositions of adults constitute repetitions on the wider group level of behavior patterns acquired through prior interpersonal experience in primary groups." (p. 198) A sample proposition derived from this principle is, "Those outgroups perceived as similar to the ingroup, will be treated (in terms of aggression, sociability, and avoidance) more like the ingroup than outgroups perceived as dissimilar."

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Comparison of Theories

Levine and Campbell note that the above theoretic rationales contain several contradictions which stem from the differing assumptions. The major discrepencies center around assumptions involving the nature of man in general; the assumed relative importance (or lack of it) of psychological factors; the objective or subjective quality of determinants of intergroup behaviors; and the assumed consistency of social behavior.

More explicitly, these contradictions can be summarized as follows:

Between group differences

1. Viewing Outgroups as Weak or Strong: The original conception of ethnocentrism viewed outgroups as weak. However, the realistic-group-conflict theory and the frustration-aggression-displacement theory hold that strong outgroups produce aggressive reactions from the ingroup.

2. Continuity and Discontinuity in Ingroup-Outgroup Behaviors and Attitudes: Realistic-group-conflict theory and frustration-aggression theory see strong relationships between ingroup solidarity and outgroup hostility. The more solidarity, the more outgroup hostility. This however is not consistent with the social-structural theories. As well, the other psychoanalytic and behavioristic approaches allow for the prediction of outgroup hostility from ingroup instability. Similarily, while aggression displacement sees the inhibition of ingroup aggression as the mechanism promoting outgroup hostility, social learning theory suggests that rewarding of aggression and hostility in general (ingroup) increases outgroup hostility.

3. The Causal Direction of the Ingroup Solidarity - Outgroup Hostility Relationship: Realistic-group-conflict theory and frustration aggression theory predict outgroup hostility from ingroup solidarity but from different premises. In the former, solidarity is generated from real threat, in the latter hostility may derive from frustrations produced within the ingroup (e.g. discipline and control measures). Thus, though both theories predict the same result, the causal sequence is reversed.

4. Rewards and Costs of Ingroup Membership: Reference group theories and the narcissism theory suggest that the more rewards associated with group membership the more ethnocentrism. Dissonance theory on the other hand equates suffering and cost or effort with loyalty. Similarly, frustration-aggression-displacement predicts that the more the ingroup restrains impulses (desires), the more ethnocentrism. It is possible that both aspects may be working in a given situation.

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Within Group Differences

1. Outgroup Strength, Wealth and Size: Real-group-conflict theory suggests that the strongest and most threatening outgroups should be the target of the greatest ingroup hostility. However, the factors of strength of the outgroup and their potential for retaliation, the wealth of the outgroup which might affect the ingroups desire to emulate their successful behaviors, and the outgroup's size as a potential threat will all affect the actual relationship.

2. Proximity and Similarity: Here, closeness may be viewed as threatening or may allow for better understanding by way of reducing inaccurate stereotypes. Similarity may also produce apparently conflicting effects by promoting attraction as a potential ingroup in some circumstances and producing repulsion as a threat to commonly needed resources in others.

3. Differential Information About Outgroups Based on Differential Intergroup Experience: The contradiction here is that some theories view stereotyped images as reflections of outgroup realities while other theories see them as projections of ingroup needs.

Agreements of Theories (appear to be common across the theories)

1. Competition Over Scarce Resources as a Source of Conflict and Ethnocentrism: In general, the greater the conflict of interests, the greater the ethnocentrism.

2. Reciprocation of Hostility: Hostility will be responded to with hostility. Similarly, ingroups will view outgroups as they see the outgroup perceiving them--thus, reciprocal attitudes (positive or negative) tend to agree.

3. Accentuation of Group Differences in Stereotypes: Groups will cognitively magnify real differences that exist between them.

Levine and Campbell conclude that the above areas of agreement :

> "... suggest a trend toward greater ethnocentrism as human society has developed over the last 10 thousand years, ... Whatever the social and psychological mechanism involved, on which theorists disagree, this directional, perhaps irreversible, tendency toward ethnocentrism in sociocultural evolution appears compatible with most theories." (p. 223)

Overall, it is not wise at this point in our social science history to assume that any one of these specific theories is correct and the others wrong. Again, these are not true theories in the strict sense of the term and as such, it is very likely that more than one rationale could be fruitfully applied to a particular problem.

Socialization and Ethnocentrism

Before dealing with the media's role in ethnic socialization, it is appropriate to briefly examine the ethnic socialization process in general. The overall process of socialization relative to ethnic groups should be very similar to that of the general public, the major differences being more in content and orientation or emphasis than in procedure.

The complexities of the general socialization process have been summarized in other writings and need not be repeated here (see Baltes and Schaie, 1973 for general consideration; see Gordon, 1974 for a review of media orientations). Rather, the most relevant propositions related to socialization and ethnocentrism have been extracted from the numerous propositions offered by Levine and Campbell (1972). These will be listed relative to the specific theories from which they derive. Although all aspects of intergroup relations will affect the socialization process in some way, the propositions selected as best representing socialization factors are those involving intra rather than inter-group behaviors, and those specifically related to child rearing practices:

Frustration-Aggression-Displacement:

-- The more ingroup coordination and discipline, the more outgroup hostility.

-- The more that ingroup norms place restraints on impulses, the more ethnocentric the group should be.

-- The more restraints on expression of hostility within the group, especially against authority, the more ethnocentric the group will be.

-- The fewer expressions of intragroup hostility, the fewer murders, drunken brawls, insubordinations, and the like, the more ethnocentric the group.

-- The more severe the socialization process, the more ethnocentric the group.

-- Removal of ethnocentric outlets, as through the suppression of wars or conflicts, will lead to an increase in intragroup hostility like murders, drunken brawls, insubordinations, etc.

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-- The group whose depredations on their outgroups and whose values provide the most cause for guilt will be the most ethnocentric.

-- Those groups farthest removed from any outgroup will be least ethnocentric and have the least social complexity.

-- The greater the population density, the greater the residential proximity and crowdedness the greater the ethnocentrism (holding ingroup peace and coordination constant.

-- Those ingroups that most blame outgroups for their troubles and teach general outgroup hostility most extensively, will have the greatest ingroup peace and solidarity.

-- Those outgroups will be most hated which are intermediate in similarity to the ingroup sources of frustration and inhibition.

-- The more extreme the punishment for ingroup aggression, the more varied the types of outgroups hated.

Group Narcissism:

-- The poorer the ingroup the more it indulges as compensation through group narcissism (greater ethnocentricism).

-- The larger the ingroup, the more attenuated the narcissistic gratification and, hence, the more unstable the group identification and the more likely is reversion to small ingroup cathexis.

-- The more child-rearing practices reward sublimation of narcissism to ingroup identification, the more ethnocentric the group will be.

-- The more narcissism produced by the child-rearing practices the more ethnocentric the group (assuming narcissism is sublimated).

Projection:

-- The more a group inhibits aggression at the ingroup level, the more it will perceive outgroups as aggressive.

-- The more a group inhibits sexuality, the more it will perceive out-groups as sexually immoral.

-- The more a group emphasizes cooperation and honesty at the ingroup level, the more it will perceive outgroups as dishonest, unregulated, anarchic, and stingy.

-- Those groups manifesting a greater discrepancy between cultural prohibitions on aggression and actual frequency and intensity of ingroup aggression will be more likely to perceive outgroups as aggressive.

-- Those groups manifesting a greater discrepancy between cultural prohibitions on sexuality and the frequency of sexual violations will be more likely to perceive outgroups as sexually immoral.

-- Those groups manifesting a greater discrepancy between ideals of cooperation and honesty and actual level of ingroup cooperation and honesty will be more likely to perceive outgroups as anarchic and dishonest.

-- Groups seeing themselves as unsuccessful in living up to their own ideals will manifest their greatest hostility toward outgroups that are successful in those particular ways.

Authoritarian Personality:

-- The more authoritarian in family (or domestic group) structure, community structure, supracommunity structure, the more ethnocentric.

-- The more severe the sanctions against those who defy authority or violate cultural prohibitions and taboos of any kind, the more ethnocentric the culture or specified grouping.

-- The greater the ethnocentrism, the greater the emphasis on subordination of wives to husbands, children to parents, junior siblings to senior siblings, in family groups.

-- The greater the ethnocentrism, the greater the reliance on physical punishment in child-training practices.

-- The greater the ethnocentrism, the more punitive are fathers (or other male authority figures) to their preadolescenct sons, and the more are sons afraid of their fathers.

Compensatory Masculinity

-- Societies in which father-infant contacts are reduced to a minimum because of customs maintaining a high degree of social distance between men and women will, by contrast with societies in which father-infant contact is greater or male dominance less pronounced, show the following characteristics:
  - -- a higher frequency of internal violence.
  - -- more legitimized forms of violence.
  - -- more overt hostility in litigation and the settlement of disputes.
  - -- more formalized legal codes and procedures.
  - -- more severe punishment for deviant behavior.
  - -- more emphasis on revenge in the punishment of deviant behavior.
  - -- a greater tendency to view surrounding groups as hostile and strong.
  - -- a greater tendency to maintain a strongly defensive, quick-to-retaliate position vis a vis. outgroups.
  - -- a greater desire to humiliate enemies in warfare and fueding by showing them to be weaklings and cowards.

Transfer and Reinforcement

-- The more parents in a society reward aggressive behavior in children, the greater the tendency toward aggression among adult members of of that society.

-- The greater the frequency of rewarded aggression among members of the ingroup, the more aggression against outgroups in general.

-- An ingroup surrounded by successfully aggressive (or having other conspicuous advantage in terms of survival or adaptation) outgroups will imitate the outgroup patterns of behavior.

It should be noted that the foregoing propositions about ethnic group socialization were derived in part from evidence and in part from the associated theories. Levine and Campbell offer many related propositions that should be examined by any reader considering the use of a specific theory -- as well, it should be noted that many of the above propositions are paraphrased to simplify the wording.

The Media and Ethnocentrism

As summarized elsewhere (Gordon, 1974), the media's relative position in the hierarchy of socialization agents suggests that the media's major socialization influence is on (1) the images and stereotypes we possess of our environment, our social systems, and our relative position in these systems; (2) the long term value systems we possess; and (3) what we view as priority concerns -- by way of the media's agenda setting function. These influences appear to be very relevant to the processes of intra and inter-ethnic relations. The research examining these effects however is very scant. This is not surprising given the complexity of the socialization process on the one hand and the longitudinal nature of media influences on stereotypes and value systems on the other.

Most of the media literature related to minority or ethnic groups has not dealt directly with the socialization of these groups. The research has most commonly been either content analyses of the general media for minority or ethnic content (see Cox, 1969-70; Dominick and Greenberg, 1970; Pride and Clarke, 1973; Roberts, 1970) or, content analyses of minority publications (see Barger, 1973; Stevens, 1970). Also common are studies of usage patterns--by social class (see Sargent and Stemple, 1968; Grunig, 1972); usage by ethnic group and social class (see Williams and Lindsay, 1971; Greenberg and Dervin, 1970; Greenberg and Dominick, 1969); usage by Blacks (see Allen, 1968; Lyle, 1967; McCombs, 1968); or usage for Blacks vs. whites (see Bogart, 1972; Gerson, 1966; Surlin and Dominick, 1970). A limited number of studies have covered usage patterns for other ethnic minorities (see Betten, 1970; Donohew and Singh, 1969; Harris and McCombs, 1972; Majahid, 1970).

Studies related to access or involving the ethnic member as the source of communication are potentially significant to the socialization process but have yet to examine these effects directly (see Block, 1970; Fedler, 1973; Kassarjian, 1973; Surlin, 1972; 1973).

More directly related to potential socialization effects are the studies of media perceptions and preferences by social class (see Williams, 1969); by Blacks (see Dimas, 1970; Greenberg; 1972); and by Blacks vs. whites (see Carey, 1966; Fletcher, 1966; Gerson, 1966; Gordon and Surlin, 1973; Greenberg and Gordon, 1972; Greenberg and Hanneman, 1970).

Of the few studies that relate directly to socialization effects of the the media, Clark (1972) showed 71 teenagers (38 white and 33 Black) a half-hour Dragnet program involving a Black militant, a Black policeman and a white policeman and assessed the extent of identification with characters. He concludes

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that, "(a) Blacks tend to identify more than whites with law and order models. (b) The pattern of Black identification with television models changes as a function of 'race consciousness.' This is more true for Black television models than for white television models." (p. 183)

Given the relative lack of evidence regarding the media's role in the socialization of ethnic minorities, the following propositions have been extracted from Levine and Campbell (1972) and are intended to promote thinking along the lines of stereotype formation by the media. As noted earlier, stereotyping was a process that appeared to be in common agreement across all of the theories. Therefore, the propositions will not be categorized by theory:

The Stereotyping Process

-- The greater the real difference between groups on any particular custom, appearance, item of material culture, the more likely that culture trait is to appear in the stereotyped imagery each group has of each other.

-- The general correspondence between outgroup stereotypes and any objective measure of outgroup characteristics will be low.

-- Once a stereotype or perception of difference is established, less real difference is required to maintain or re-evoke it.

-- The outgroup most capable of and likely to retaliate will be the object of the least unfavorable stereotypes.

-- The greater the spatial proximity between groups (physical closeness), the greater the accuracy of their images of each other.

-- The greater the frequency of contact between groups, the more accurate their images of each other.

-- The greater the degree to which intergroup relations are institutionalized and patterned, the more accurate the intergroup images.

-- If any outgroup indulges in gratifications tabooed within the ingroup, these indulgences will be emphasized in stereotypes and will be used to justify hostility.

-- Stereotypes of outgroups will correspond to motives that are being inhibited at the ingroup level.

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-- That outgroup will be most hated, most unfavorably stereotyped, and most aggressed against which is most used as a bad example in child training.

-- The more controlled the ingroup, the more strongly the outgroup will be stereotyped as order-demanding, law-enforcing, and work-demanding.

Specific Stereotypes (social class/social role)

-- When socioeconomic differentiation is concomitant with ethnic differentiation, ethnic images emerge that reflect the social and economic roles.

-- Rural groups are seen by urban groups as unsophisticated, guileless, gullible, and ignorant.

-- Urban groups are seen by rural groups as sophisticated, urbane, avaricious, dishonest, and immoral.

-- Groups doing manual labor are seen as strong, stupid, pleasure-loving, and improvident.

-- Businessmen and traders are seen as grasping, haughty, cunning, and domineering.

-- Groups upwardly mobile in professions and in bureaucratic and technical occupations are seen as ambitious, aggressive, and industrious.

-- Northerners see themselves as of strong character, powerful militarily, economically vigorous, good organizers, industrious-hard-working, reliable, manly, serious, and thrifty.

-- Southerners see northerners as powerful economically, powerful militarily, hard working-energetic, physically strong, slow and heavy, rough and dirty, egocentric, stingy, pessimistic, hard-hearted, serious, stupid, and fanatic.

-- Southerners see themselves as eloquent, artistic, socially refined, patient, clever-intelligent, obliging, graceful, amiable, generous.

-- Northerners see southerners as economically weak, militarily weak, lazy, weak, quick and fast, amiable and oily, unreliable, wasteful, optimistic, light-hearted, crafty, clever, spineless.

Although these specific stereotypes are but a few of the many possible, the important realization is the connection between these and the process of stereotyping such that the process concepts could be applied to the ethnic grouping under study.

CULTURAL EVOLUTION, THE INDIVIDUAL, AND THE MEDIA

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The theoretic approach which received no mention by Levine and Campbell (1972) is one which could be potentially very powerful in terms of conceptualizing interethnic relationships as long term processes. These are the cognitive developmental theories of Piaget and Kohlberg. Applying these theories of child development to the development of a culture seems to be both practical and logical. The interim link that serves to connect these two areas is the writings in Anthropology that explore the relationships between culture and personality. Perhaps the relative newness, in terms of the history of anthropology, of the cognitive developmental conceptions may explain why these approaches were not considered by Levine and Campbell or in recent texts on culture and personality by Barnouw (1973) and by Wallace (1970).

The literature on the relationship between culture and personality notes the interplay of cognitive growth and environment-- environment being discussed in a general cultural evolutionary sense. Although the interplay of cognitive abilities and culture has been recognized as a dynamic interaction, the emphasis is on culture as the determiner of personality rather than the opposite.

The major approaches to the study of culture and personality have been summarized by Wallace (1970) as:

> The replication of uniformity: Here, the society is viewed as culturally homogeneous. Thus, the experiences of the individual members will be similar and will produce a uniform "nuclear character."
>
> The organization of diversity: This approach emphasizes the diversity of of motives, personalities, and customs that coexist within the societal boundries. It assumes that the society is not a reliable mechanism for a pure replication process. Thus, personality relates more to particular subgroup promotion of policy developed to further their interests. Over time, the conflict of subgroup interests molds a mutually facilitating set of structures in the culture. Personality, then, is related to these more specific structures and to the dynamic which created them.

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Although it is clear that the relationship of culture to personality has not gone unnoticed, it is suggested here that shifting the causal emphasis from the culture to the individual allows for a direct comparison of the cognitive developmental stages of the individual with the evolutionary stages of the culture. The logic goes as follows:

-- The organizational diversity and structural complexity of a culture quite probably reflect the cognitive abilities of the individuals in that culture.

-- The relationship between cultural change (evolution) and cognition is such that changes in the structures or functioning of the culture, over time, produce a change in the cognitive structures of its members. However, the initial cultural change was implemented by the more advanced or innovative members of the culture. Thus, although the change in culture changes the average cognitive structure of the group members, in fact, the individual, not the culture was the initiator.

-- Since the individual is the initiator of the culture change, the staging sequence of cultural evolution should parallel the cognitive developmental staging sequence of the individual.

Building on these assumptions, the cognitive developmental stages, as determined by Piaget (1970) and Kohlberg (1973), can be directly compared to cultural evolution. The power of these staging schemes is that they have been empirically determined and verified. Each stage is a distinctly different structure from the one that preceded it. The assumptions presented earlier as characteristic of the organismic model were essentially taken from the assumptions of the cognitive developmental model. To further specify these assumptions, the following are criteria which are assumed in the staging conception of the individual except that the word culture has been substituted for individual and functions or organizational concepts replace thinking structure concepts:

1. Stages imply distinct or qualitative differences in structures (modes of cultural organization) which still serve the same basic function (e.g. mutual survival and growth) at various points in development.

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2. These different structures form an invariant sequence, order, or succession in cultural development.

3. Each of the different and sequential stages forms a structured whole (at each stage, the culture functions as a distinct culture, it is not necessary to complete all stages before the unit functions as a whole).

4. Stages are hierarchecal integrations (in forming new and higher stages, the culture reintegrates the lower stage into the new one).

The cognitive structural sequence established by Piaget emphasizes logical thought. In comparing the structure of a culture with the logical stages, the equation would suggest that if the average individual in the culture has reached the upper stage of thought, then the cultural structures should reflect this. Piaget's research demonstrates that the staging sequence in the individual is very closely tied to maturation and the final stage is usually reached in late adolescence. Overall, the cultural average for a technologically advanced culture should be at or near the final stage in the sequence. Applying this comparison to primative cultures should reveal that the average level of logical thinking is somewhat lower.

For the advanced culture, taking a long range evolutionary perspective, the more important staging comparison to make would be with Kohlberg's (1973) stages of moral development. Whereas logical structures are relatively content free, moral stages are value oriented and are more strongly tied to personal experiences. As such, this area of development is especially significant to ethnocentrism. As well, Kohlberg's staging sequence provides the same empirically derived and verified structuring mechanism as those of Piaget. The interesting analogy here is that in the evolutionary perspective, today's most advanced technological cultures (as a cultural average) have yet to reach the upper stages (stage 5 and 6) in the Kohlberg scheme.

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Within this conception, problems of ethnocentrism are directly linked to the cultural level (average) of moral development. For direct comparison of Piaget's stages of logical thought with his own moral staging sequence, Kohlberg (1973) has juxtaposed the two (see Fig. 1). Kohlberg contends that a given logical stage is a necessary though not sufficient condition for achieving the related moral stage.

Logical stage	Moral stage
Symbolic, intuitive thought	Stage 0: The good is what I want and like.
Concrete operations, Substage 1 categorical classification	Stage 1: punishment-obedience orientation
Concrete operations, Substage 2 reversable concrete thought	Stage 2: instrumental hedonism and concrete reciprocity
Formal operations, Substage 1 relations involving the inverse of the reciprocal	Stage 3: Orientation to interpersonal relations of mutuality
Formal operations, Substage 2	Stage 4: maintenance of social order, fixed rules and authority
Formal operations, Substage 3	Stage 5A: social contract, utilitarian law-making perspective
	Stage 5B: higher law and conscience orientation
	Stage 6: Universal ethical principle orientation

Fig. 1. Relations between Piaget Logical Stages and Kohlberg Moral Stages

Kohlberg's longitudinal data (15 yrs.) demonstrate that stage five is an adult stage that may not be acquired until the late twenties or into the thirties--if at all. None of the subjects in the sample who did not attend

college (went into the army or into adult occupations) developed stage five or principled thinking (basic set of moral principles guide thinking). Movement from stage four to five appears to be closely associated with Erickson's concept of the identity crisis. For the individual to move from stage four to stage five requires not just an awareness of the higher level ethical principles, but a personal decision to commit oneself to them. The students who went on to college were exposed to differing ideologies and value systems, this coupled with their greater freedom generated the identity crisis situation. Given the questioning of, "Who am I?", a stage four individual is much more likely to move to the next level. However, the research shows that an individual can go through this identity questioning and not necessarily move up to the level of principled thought. When identity questioning is coupled with, "explicit cognitive-moral stimulation" (e.g. discussion groups on moral behavior), principled thinking is a much more likely result. Overall, the role of emotion is important. Making the moral discussion group an emotional as opposed to an impersonal discussion seems to stimulate self thinking (as in an identity crisis) and the realization that one's thinking and commitment make a difference.

The relationship of the identity crisis concept to the ethnic group seems especially important to an understanding of ethnocentrism. The ethnic group member may be experiencing a similar crisis and as such be particularly "ripe" for a change in moral development. More importantly, if this conception is accurate, it may not be possible to reduce the problems of ethnocentrism until the culture is at a stage five average. This brings to light the realities of attempting to achieve "pluralism" in a multi-ethnic culture. On the other hand, if it were possible to raise the average level to a point which would permit pluralism, the resulting strengthened identity should make further

advances that much easier -- again applying Erickson's concepts of ego strength and identity (see Kohlberg, 1973 for related references).

Implications of the cognitive developmental approach

In terms of further exploration of theoretic approaches to the problems of ethnocentrism, the cognitive developmental approach would appear to warrent further examination. First, since the stages represent a structured average for a culture, it is possible to empirically determine which stage a given culture is in.

Second, since the stages form an invariant sequence the cultural evolutionary process is placed in an overall perspective which allows for the prediction of behaviors relative to stages as well as the examination of relationships across differing stages. Knowing the staging sequence also allows for planning and promotion from one stage to the next. Given that a culture must go through each stage, it is unrealistic to ask or expect stage five or six behaviors from a stage 3-4 culture.

Third, knowing that the staging process is highly experiential, as opposed to maturational, makes potential structuring of appropriate experiences a viable possibility. This may be especially true given the commonality of a pervasive mass media system. It is good to keep in mind here that relative to the process of cultural evolution, the mass media --especially television-- have been around for a relatively short time.

Fourth, as an overall theoretic approach, this scheme could be adopted and still allow the utilization of some of the more specific theories of ethnocentrism. For example, although the compensatory masculinity theory appears to make sense as applied to youth gangs, an awareness of the cognitive stages (logical and moral) at work here and their relationship to maturation lends even greater power to the conceptual scheme.

Recommended Theory Emphasis

The recommended approach by way of theory building can be summarized as follows: First, the model of the basic nature of man that views him as an active goal seeking organism interacting dynamically with his environment appears to be the most fruitful--the organismic model.

Second, within this approach the cognitive developmental conception of the relationship between culture, cognition, and the development of value systems provides a culturally based second level theoretic structure. Within this conception the specific theories detailed by Levine and Campbell (1972) can be applied to specific situations as warrented--since they do not constitute mutually exclusive approaches.

Third, the prefered view of the media would emphasize their role in establishing stereotypes of both ingroups and outgroups, their role in the long term reinforcement of basic balue systems, and their potential effects for homogenizing the culture or for creating a viable sense of pluralism.

An important implication of this approach lies in the relationship of the media to the cognitive developmental process. If the model of cultural evolution of moral thinking is at all realistic, it suggests that problems associated with ethnocentrism will not be solved until the average level of principled thinking increases. Given a common communication system with the power to affect both images and emotions, it seems that the best efforts of the media scholar would be directed toward that end.

Proposed Research Emphasis

From the above theoretic approach, it is suggested that research be organized along two lines. The first would concentrate on the design and testing of media strategies to affect changes in the level of principled thinking. If this type of change can be achieved in the small group situation, is it possible to do the same through mass channels? Which types of media strategies would be needed for which levels of development? As an added socialization emphasis, are there strategies that could be used with children to make media campaigns that they may be exposed to at a later point in time more effective? What are the important media variables in this process as opposed to content variables?

The second line of research would emphasize detail work on the intricacies of the stereotype formation and change process. The numerous propositions related to each of the "theories" must be researched relative to the generation of an all inclusive scheme that would interrelate the set, if possible. What are the relative influences of other socialization agents in this process? Given an argument for pluralism (e.g. Levine and Herman, nd) what are the dynamic interactions as cultures at different levels of principled thinking cross paths? How do their general media and communication behaviors differ? These types of information could then go to strengthen or change particular media strategies or, indeed, the overall paradigm.

Conclusion

Although changing the thinking structures of a culture seems at first a glib solution to the problem of extreme ethnocentrism, the present conception at least provides a theoretic scheme within which to visualize the process and a set of tested methodologies for assessing the possibilities. At this point the comparison of cognitive stages to cultural stages is more in the form of an analogy than a theoretic proposition. However, the degree of similarity appears to warrent detailed consideration.

It is recognized that presenting a few TV spots is not going to change the system. However, a concerted campaign involving most of the major media, including entertainment programming, if done subtlety and consistently enough, could prove to be significant.

Since the upper level stages of principled thinking require a degree of soul searching and commitment on the part of the individual, early attempts to test media strategies might be directed at "underdeveloped" cultures where the change would require less ego involvement and would be more readily observable. In general, the cognitive developmental model would predict that low income and underdeveloped sub-cultures would evidence lower levels of principled thinking due to their greater concerns with basic survival needs. Just as the individual must mature physically to advance in the staging sequence, it would appear that the culture must "mature" to a standard of living that will permit the majority to consider principled behaviors over survival needs.

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